to increase it—because the former tends to raise prices, to elevate the farmer, to make him independent, and to enable him to make roads

The fall altogether of forty-seven feet.

Pullam seemed endowed with more than farmer, and to raise those paid by him-to make him more dependent—to compel him to that he was drowned."
go abroad and pay eight or ten per cent. for Whatever may hav money with which to buy iron-to prevent the money with which to buy iron—to prevent the building of school-houses, and to maintain British Free Trade. Slavery, and that description end.—Louisville Courier, June 16. of Free Trade which consists in monopoly, travel everywhere together, and where they are found, school-houses diminish in number; whereas, Protection and Freedom travel everywhere together, and where they are found, school houses increase in number and rise in charac

The farmers of the world are natural allies. The traders of the world in like manner are allies, and the object of their alliance is to enable them to live and accumulate fortunes at the cost of the farmers. The desires of the two parties are in direct opposition, each to the other. The farmer desires to sell food at high prices, and buy his cloth and iron at low ones; whereas the trader desires to buy food cheap, and sell cloth and iron dear. Wherever the farmer protects himself, as in France, Germany, mark, much cloth and iron is obtained for little food, and men become more free wherever the trader is master of the farmer, as in Ireland, Turkey, Portugal, the West Indies and India, much food is given for little cloth and iron, and men become from year to year more enslaved. Nevertheless, our farmers permit themselves to be misled by journals note riously in the service of Manchester, whose every object is directly the reverse of that which they aselves should desire to see accomplished. Were it otherwise-did they think for them selves-they could not fail to see that they profit largely by the Russian system-that its extension over Turkey could not fail to create at home a large market, that would intercept the corn of the Black Sea on its way to England ; and that they would therefore be gainers by the

entire success of Russia.

Directly the reverse of all this is the object sought to be accomplished by the Allies, who desire to defeat every measure looking to the creation of a domestic market in Russia or in Turkey. They desire that food may be cheap, and manufactures dear; and whenever ou farmers can prevail upon themselves to see that they would thereby be benefited, the season will then have arrived for them to pray for the success of the Allied armies - but not until then We beg now to ask our Washington cotemporary to favor us with answers to the following

I. Is not the price of food everywhere regu lated by that in the market of England? II. Is it not, therefore, for the interest of the farmers everywhere that the price in tha

market should be high?

III. Does not every increase in the quantity sent to that market tend to lower its price, and every decrease tend to raise it? IV. Is it not, then, for the interest of our farm

ers that all nations should adopt measures looking to the decrease of the quantity sent to that market? V. Does not the protection afforded by Rus

sia and Germany tend to create a domestic market for food-to lessen the quantity exported, and to raise its price? VI. Would not the creation of a domestic market in Turkey tend greatly to produce the

same effect, and on an enormous scale; and are not our farmers therefore directly interested in VII. Would not the success of the Allies to increase the quantity of food seeking a foreign market, and to lower its price; and have

not our farmers therefore a direct interest in deprecating any such success? In conclusion, we would now request our co temporary to enable his readers to see what we

have to say in reply to his article, which w this day republish, and in return promise t lay his rejoinder before our own. As a sincere believer in British Free Trade, he must of course believe that faith therein will grow with discussion, and will gladly accept our offer particularly as it will have the effect of enabling im to talk to our million of readers in relatiou to the advantage that must necessarily result to the farmers of the world from the perfect triumph of the British system, which looks allowing them to have but one market in which to sell all their goods, and one in which to buy all their cloth and iron.

# KANSAS

We clip the following paragraphs from the

Lawrence Herald of Freedom of June 2d: The Free-Soilers in Kansas look upon Mi souri as a great sufferer, in a financial point of view, in consequence of the existence of Slave ry there. They conceive that there is actually for less happiness among the white population than there would be, were the principles of Free-dom generally adopted, and carried out in practice; hence their dislike of extending the institution of Slavery over the great Kansas Valley.

Our people, as a mass, coming from what section they may, and however abhorent Slavery may appear to them in the aggregate, are not willing to involve themselves or their country in difficulty on its account; but once settle the principle that it is right for one State or Territory to give law to another, in violation of the wishes of the residents, and then look out for ultra Abolitionism. We will then go as far as the most fanatical fire-eater of the North in forcing free institutions upon Missouri.

Free Soilers wish to keep all of God's free earth sacred to Freedom. They do not wish to extend the area of an institution whose practi-cal influence has a tendency to enslave all who do not coincide in opinion with those who differ from them.

The Westport News says:

Four hundred Sacs were in our place or Tuesday last, expending the annuity money just paid them by Judge James, for supplies. Their trade with our merchants during the day amounted to between eleven and twelve thou

A gentleman of intelligence, who is familiar with Western rivers and steamboating, gives it as his opinion that it is folly to think of running a steamer farther up than Lawrence, save du-ring high water. At the same time, he thinks the river can be navigated to this point nine months in a year. If his opinion is correct, then the destiny of Lawrence it settled beyond controversy. It must become the great commercial emporium of the entire region between the Rocky Mountains and the Missouri. Fifty miles inland from Kansas, it will be important to get goods freighted even that distance, and it will be done at prices lower than it can be by

For many years, Kansas city, Missouri, must necessarily be the great commercial mart on the Missouri. Situated, as it is, near the mouth of the Kansas river, it will be the centre of business for all that region lying between Mis ori and the Rocky Mountains, as well as New Mexico and the great State yet in embryo, ly-ing between that Territory and Kansas. We feel that the interests of Lawrence and

Kansas city are closely connected—in fact almost inseparable—and as such we are glad to see our neighbor so rapidly developing her natural advantages, and assuming a position which will make her second to no point on the Missouri river in commercial importance.

The cohorts of Slavery visited the polls in

the Leavenworth district on the 22d ultimo, from Missouri, and carried everything before them, as on former occasions. This is the 16th election district, and, according to the census in February, had 385 voters, and yet it seems

AN ABOLITIONIST CHASED AND DROWNED .-We learn that within a week past there has been some excitement in Garrard county, consequent upon an affair in which an abolitionist
was involved. During the present year, some three negroes have been run off from Jessamine county. Last week, evidence was obtained that a Mr. Pullam, of Garrard, had a ly a warrant was issued by a magistrate of Bry.

ly a warrant was issued by a magistrate of Bry.

autsville, for the arrest of Pullam. The constable,
autsville, for the arrest of Pullam. The constable,
autsville, for the arrest of Pullam. The constable,
bow he is injured by England admitting his breadstuffs to her ports, duty free; and our ported into England was 3,541,809 quarters, of less were then off, of course.

ers of the world-all of whose interets are one They then started to return, but after progressand the same—and all to be promoted by every ing a short distance the prisoner broke away. to understand how the market for their wares constituted only 488,101 quarters, or one-measure tending to diminish the quantity of He outran the officer and his posse; and the is to be benefited by the closure of the ports of seventh of the whole. Now, when we consider food forced upon the market whose prices regu-late those of the world at large. constable, seeing his prize about to escape, fired a pistol, hitting him in the back. He in-Directly opposed to all this are the interests of British Free Traders. They suffer by whatever tends to diminish the quantity sent to the stantly fell, screaming with pain, but just as regulating market, and profit by whatever tends cliff, he fell first about seven feet, then ten, and

and build school-houses for himself; and school-houses are not favorable to British Free Trade.

The latter tends to lower prices paid to the being made to drag the river, as it is presume

Whatever may have been the guilt of the

# WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1855.

THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE

This number closes the first half of the ninth lume of the Era. As several subscriptions are expiring about this time, we trust our friends will not forget to renew in season The times are full of interest to the friends of Liberty, and we hope they will remember that the Press is their most potent agency.

### NEW PROPOSITION

As the first six months of this year are about to clos order six copies of the Era for six months, and six copie Facts for the People for a year.

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#### PROTECTION-BRITISH FREE TRADE-NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

Soils and climates, men's wants, capacities. and circumstances, vary, giving rise to diversified forms of industry and production. Hence, Division of Labor, and interchange of its prodocts, or Commerce.

All men are not equal to all things-all soils, adapted to all productions. One man has more activity, or more inventive genius, or more executive force, than another. One region is adapted to planting, another, to farming, another, to manufactures, another, to commerce, while another may possess all these advantages.

Educate men, and they will find out for what pursuit they are best qualified, how the natural esources at their command may be best deseloped, in what way their skill and labor may become most productive.

The duty of Government is, to aid individual enterprise, where necessary, not to supersede it: to secure to the Individual the fruits of his the incorporation of that country into Russia? Industry, not to attempt its control or direccheap and intimate Intercommunication, (where

individual enterprise is insufficient,) and means of General Education-these are what Government owes to the People : but to them, not to it, belongs the management of the complex business of Production, Distribution, Consumpion. Generally, legislation designed to modify productions, regulate distribution, or re strain consumption, is impertinent and mis-

us. The time will arrive when Bounties and Tariffs will be regarded as no better than Sumptnary Laws. The early Colonists of New England during

the first few years of their settlement traded in peltry, and confined themselves to agriculture. Immigrants, constantly arriving, were their ustomers, and supplied the circulating me dium of the Colony. Soon, immigration stopped-they found that they were raising more breadstuffs than they could sell-labor was not emunerative-prices went down. What did hey do? Common sense was their teacher and protector. They diverted a portion of their laor and time to other pursuits. They began to build vessels; they turned attention to the fisheries; they carried fish and staves to other countries, and brought back wine, sugar, and dried fruit; some cultivated flax and hemp; some brought cotton from the West Indies nanufactures of linen, cotton, and woollen cloths were started. In this way, without encouragement from the Government of England, under disabling restrictions, against the compe tition of the ample capital and trained labor of the mother country, were laid the foundations of the commerce and manufactures of New England. What was done by those enterprising Colonists, may be done at any time, anywhere by intelligent enterprise. Men, enlightened and ndustrious, need no legislation to direct them how to dispose of their capital, or skill, or la

bor, to the best purpose. If they raise more corn than they can eat, sell, or exchange profitably, they will soon raise less, and devote a portion of their time and energies to the production of other articles. If there be an excess of all agricultural products, some will become mechanics, some, tradesmen, some, fishers, some nanufacturers, some, merchants, some, shippers It was thus, through the workings of natural causes, by Intelligence, quick to appreciate the means at hand, by Enterprise, prompt and wise o use them, that the Colonies of this country gradually grew in population, wealth, and pow er, exhibiting all the varied forms of Industry without the forcing processes of hot-bed legis lation, in the teeth of the competition of England, under severe restrictions imposed by Mo nopoly, until they became strong enough to as sert and make good their independence. Hav ing achieved all this, without protection, while yet in the gristle, to us it seems simply absurd

ruined by Foreign Labor! These remarks will serve as introductor to a brief reply to the Political Economist of the New York Tribune, who has challenged us to a discussion of the subject of protection. He asks us to reprint in the Era his article, promsing in return to give our reply a place in the Tribune. Two weeks since, we inserted in our columns an editorial of the Tribune on our po sition in relation to the Eastern War, and proposed to that paper to republish our reply. It paid no attention to the request, nor has it yet seen proper to plead guilty or not guilty to our

now in our firm maturity, to call upon Govern

ment to secure us from being impoverished and

sciousness of weakness? But, we can afford to be generous. The arti cle the Tribune desires us to reprint, so as to give our readers the privilege of reading both sides of the Question, appears on the first page of the Era, and we shall now expect the Tribune to fulfil its part of the arrangement, by reprinting this reply.

arraignment. Does this conduct betray a con-

Discussing some time since, the position of

Russia and Turkey against them. It would be a good thing to have the Allies humiliated, be-cause English free trade is tending to break down all commercial restrictions; and we should hail the triumph of Russia because her Protective system would shut us out from Turkey as well as her own dominions! That is a queer philosophy."

Our cotemporary chooses to make this paragraph the text of a long article, designed to prove that the farmers of the United States are njured severely by the repeal of the British Corn Laws, and the opening of British ports to the grain of the world, and to show how they are injured.

It was the theory of Hobbes, that the natural state of mankind is, war. Such appears to be nations, as if they were not related to one aneach should isolate itself from all connection theory to explain, why the earth, with its system of land and water, its continents and islands, bound to each other by oceans, seas, lakes, and rivers, is made to constitute a unit, or why men and women are formed of the same flesh and blood. This principle of isolation and antagonism he carries even beyond nations, down to classes and professions. The farmers are waging war against the dealers and manufacturers, and these, against the farmers. It is the interest of one class to buy at as low a rate. and sell at as high a one, as possible, without the slightest reference to any low but that of its own aggrandizement. And, if it has the power to legislate in accomplishment of this policy, it is praiseworthy to do so.

We must be permitted to say that, after reading this argument in the Tribune, so intensely selfish in its animus, so utterly irreconcilable with the Principle of Human Brotherhood, and, as it seems to us, so narrow and illogical in reasoning, our dislike of the doctrine of Proqualities that offends us in his argument.

Shall we call his article an argument? Is it not rather a dogmatic exposition of his views. than an exhibition of reasons in support of them? Take a single paragraph as an illustration. To show that it is mere dogmatism, we will place it, with precisely reverse assumptions, in parallel columns, and the reader shall say, which is the more plausible:

THE TRIBUNE DOGMATIZING,
"The object of Great
Britain in repealing the
Corn Laws was to cheapen
food. What our farmers
had to desire was, that food
might not be cheap, and if
Britain succeeded in accomplishing her object, they
were quite unlikely to profit
by her action. But, it will be
said it gave them a market
they had before not enjoyed.
On the contrary, it deprived
them of a market of which
they before had had possession. and thus greatly injured them. The market of
England was valueless unless that country had large
crops, but it was valuable
when crops were short; and
when that proved to be the
case, they possessed advantages for supplying it
such as were enjoyed by no
other people in the world.
They had fast ships, canals,
railroads, and their own
consumption was so large,
that the slightest economy
at home enabled there to
meeta large demand abroad.
As a consequence of this,
they profited largely by the THE TRIBUNE DOGMATIZING, THE ERA DOGMATIZING ce the price of food, they the only foreign people

This is a specimen of the whole argument of he Tribune, if argument it can be called. To as it seems nothing more than a tissue of assumptions, nearly all of them utterly ground-

ess, as we shall now attempt to show. What farmers, what producers, of any class, need, is an ample, uniform market, at remuperative, not high and fluctuating prices. What are called high prices, have a twofold effectthey reduce consumption and stimulate produc ion, so that the producer, even during their continuance, may not be so great a gainer, as night at first be supposed; while, in the long run, he will be a loser; for, production being mmoderately stimulated, the next year will probably witness a glut in the market, and a listressing fall of prices. Now we submit, that hese fluctuations must prove injurious, and ought to be guarded against as far as possible. The thing needed, we repeat, is, a steady market, at remunerative prices. This is better both for producer and consumer-for the farm er, tradesman, and manufacturer.

The object of England in repealing the Corn Laws, was to remedy the ruinous fluctuations n the Corn Market, and reduce the price of grain to a moderate and reasonable rate—a policy precisely in accordance with the interests of the farmers not only in this country, but in all countries. It did not "deprive them of a market of which before they had had possession," but it did give them "a market which they before had not enjoyed." On this point, we are directly at issue with the Tribune; and as mere assertion proves nothing, let us appeal

The market which the Tribune says our farmers "had had possession of" before the repeal of the Corn Laws, was the English market, under the sliding scale of duties. This sys em was adopted in 1804, and in 1828 underwent certain modifications, of little importance,

nowever, to foreign wheat growers. In 1801, the amount of grain of all kinds mported from the United States into England was 372,151 Winchester quarters. From the year 1804 to the year 1825-and we cannot ust now lay our hands upon a table of a later date—the importation generally decreased. One year it was 316,000 quarters; another, 250,000; another, 172,000; another, 187,000; but, for the remainder of the period, it never reached 100,000, in any year, while it averaged only 33,000 a year! The modifications of 1828 lid not essentially change this state of things. Our exports of all sorts of grain and provisions, from that time to 1842, when the British tariff began to be reduced, were either stationary or declining. Thus England was not only a comparatively unimportant market, but a most irregular one-our exports of grain ranging from two quarters to one hundred thousand! Bad as the market was, our farmers had not possession" of it, as the Tribune assumes, and for the obvious reason, that the granaries of the Baltic nearly always had sufficient supplies on hand; word could be sent to them immediately; and their nearness enabled shippers to throw their grain into the English market on the first intimation of a fall of the sliding scale. Hence, the market was controlled by the farmers of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Germany, the Netherlands-never by those of the United States. In 1831, a year signalzed in England by the vi foreign grain, and a year in which we exported 1838 - 8.75 more breadstuffs than we did at any time from
the year 1821 to 1845, the whole amount im
\*Duties began to be reduced in 1842-43-in 1844 or 1345. Provisions were freely admitted in 1846. The du-

manufacturers will have to study a long time which the proportion from the United States Years. seventh of the whole. Now, when we consider that our annual average export of flour, from 1843 1821 to 1840, (leaving out the unusual ex-. 1844 port of 1831, valued at \$10,461,728,) was not more than five millions, it is easy to form some 1847 conception of the little chance the sliding scale 1848 of duties allowed our farmers in the English 1849 market. And yet, in view of the fact, shown by these figures, which we could multiply ad infinitum, and notorious to the world, that the English market, before the repeal of the Corn Laws, was mainly possessed by the European wheat growers, the Tribune tells our farmers that they had "possession" of it!

The tendency of the repeal of the Laws and the admission of foreign grain free the notion of our cotemporary. He deals with of duty, was, to make prices more uniform, by leaving them to be settled by natural laws, alother by the tie of a common humanity-as if ways more regular in their operation than the crooked expedients of short-sighted men. Obwith every other. It would be difficult on his servation would soon teach our farmers what kind of a market they might expect in England-how much it could produce itself un der ordinary circumstances-what would be the probable foreign demand-how far the grain-growers of the Baltic could supply i &c., and, calculating upon an increased d mand, they would naturally sow more grain. Owing to the intervention of extraordinar causes, it is impossible to show clearly by facts

but we may safely say, that the statistics of our exportation since the repeal of the Corn Laws. give not the slightest support to the assumption of the Tribune, that our farmers have been deprived of the market in England which they had before the repeal. Indeed, we wonder at its daring, in making such an assertion. With our eye on a table now before us, (printed in Andrews' Report,) of exports, from the year 1821 to the year 1852, we find that the value of the flour export per annum, from 1821 to 1840, averaged about five millions; that of tection has increased tenfold. But, we would pork, hogs, lard, &c., ranged from \$1,200.000 attribute to the writer not a single one of the to \$1,900,000; that of beef, cattle, hides, &c., from \$600,000 to \$900,000. In the case of flour and pork, we omit a single exceptional

how far this tendency has made itself manifest:

year. Let us see how the account stands since 1844, when the effect of the reduction of duties was beginning to be felt. The following table of the value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, from 1844 to 1854, we have prepared from official documents. We may remark that 1847 was the year of the Irish famine and in 1853 began the Eastern controversy which resulted in war in 1854. The large ex ports of the other years, if they do not precisely define the extent of the operation of the repeal of the Corn Laws\* and the opening of the English market to our farmers, certainly prove the general proposition, that that policy has largely augmented the exportation of the products of American agriculture:

EXPORTS OF BREADSTUFFS AND PROVISIONS. \$15,206,348 13,826,446 1846 . 24,598,457 1847 -64,577,534 35,372,719 36,226,302 23,740,199 22,106,572 31,706,057 63,882,171

We think American farmers, contrasting scale, with the facts demonstrated by these figures, will hardly be deluded by the narrow polical economy of the Tribune into the notion that they have been robbed of a valuable market by "British Free Trade." Here at least, they must acknowledge "British Free Trade to be their best ally, unless indeed they fancy that the larger the market for their produce the less their profits!

But the Tribune tells them, the design and effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws was, to cheapen food, and thus reduce their profits. It did cheapen food in England, and thereby in creased the consumption, and stimulated manufacturing industry. The effect was, to increase the demand-in other words, the market for breadstuffs-and this re-acted on production. so that the farmers everywhere were ultimately the gainers. If the production be stimulated to such a degree, that the market price of grain goes below the remunerating point, we may safely leave it to the good sense of the producer, to apply the remedy-which will be. to raise less of that article, and more of others.

All that the Tribune, therefore, says about the reduction of price as a result of British Free Trade, proves nothing, unless it can show that the fall is below the remunerating stand ard, and it will be puzzled to do this in face of the fact, that our farmers have been sending abroad, chiefly to England, for the last eleven years, breadstuffs and provisions to the value of three hundred and fifty millions of dollars! If they have stubbornly persisted in this kind of production and export, receiving all the while no remuneration for capital, time, and labor, they certainly need protection, but it

should be the protection of the Lunatic Asy-A word as to prices. The Tribune assume that they were unprecedentedly low in New York from 1850 to 1853. We are not able now to turn to a full table of New York prices for a series of years; but we have a table before us, compiled for the Baltimore American. a Whig paper, for the Baltimore market, in which the prices, we believe, generally rate a little lower than in New York. As it is highly interesting in the present discussion, we give

the whole of it: Prices of Flour for the first three months of the year, from 1796 to 1855, inclusive.

January. February. March

	1796			\$12.00	\$13.50	\$15.00
	1797			10.00	10.00	10.00
	1798			8.50	8.50	8.50
1	1799			9.50	9.50	9.25
ı	1800			11.50	11.25	11.50
	1801			11.50	11.25	11.50
3	1802			7.00	7.00	7.00
ì	1803			6.50	6.50	6.50
	1804			7.50	7.50	7.00
ı	1805	*		11.00	12.25	13.00
1	1806			7.50	7.50	7.00
	1807			7.50	7.50	7.50
ì	1808	(emi	pargo		5.75	5.50
1	1809		0.	5.50	7.00	7.00
	1810	(July	& A	ug.		
1	-	\$11	t \$1	2) 7.75	8.00	8.25
ı	1811	-		11.00	10.50	10.50
1	1812	(w		10.50	10.12	9.75
1	1813	d	0.	11.00	10.00	9.50
1	1814		0.	9.25	8.25	8.00
1	1815	d	0.	8.00	8.00	7.75
ı	1816	•		9.00	9.00	8.00
ı	1817			13.50	13.75	14.25
ı	1818	*		10.00	10.75	10.50
1	1819			9.00	8.75	8.25
į	1820			6.00	5.50	5.00
1	1821			4.00	4.00	3.75
ă	1822			6.25	6.25	6.25
ì	1823	19		7.00	6.50	7.00
ı	1824			6.00	6.00	6.12
	1825			4.87	5.12	5.12
	1826	•		4.75	4.62	4.50
ı	1827 1828			5.75	6.00	4.75
i	1828			5.00	4.87	5.75
١	1830			8.50	8.25	8.00
ì	1831			4.62	4.50	4.50
į	1832			6.12 5.50	6.25	7.00
1	1833				5.50	5.50
	1834		160	5.75 6.25	5.00	5.50
	1835		15	4.87	5.00	5.87
	1836		3 - 4 3	6.50	5.00	5.00
	1837		199	11.00	6.62	6.75
	1838			9.75	11.00	10.75

8.25

4.50 5.25

says the average price of flour was less than five dollars a barrel; and in 1853 it was but \$4.56-" less than it had been at any time for twenty years!" The table shows that, in 1843, fer other nations to mind theirs; to constrain 1844, 1845-years of the Whig tariff-flour fell her to desist from her Tartar policy of overto \$3.47 a barrel, at one time reached \$4.62; running the world, and devote herself to the greatest depression was in the year 1843, be- her resources; in all of which, our farmers, before the repeal of the Corn Laws.

If the table be examined carefully, it will be found, comparing the average price from 1828 to 1843, (leaving out of the calculation the year 1837, as a clearly exceptional case,) with the Tribune. the average price from 1845 to 1854, inclusive,

the Tribune. As much error may be boldly tian workings of the dogma of Protection asserted in one column, as shall require a score upon Character! The Southern States, under of columns for its exposure.

the United States, we shall reply by exhibiting we should aska few figures:

After the war, the first tariff enacted was that of 1816. In 1819, duties were still fur- with its rich soil, and its mineral resources, to ther increased—as they were in 1824—and in supply, to a great extent, its own market with 1828 was passed the most obnoxious of all our provisions and manufactures, and is it not tariffs. In 1833, the Compromise bill of Mr. therefore for the interest of Western farmers Clay became a law, under which duties were and New England manufacturers that Slavery gradully reduced till 1842, when another tariff should be maintained? was enacted, which was supplanted by the Free Trade Tariff, as it is called, of 1846. So that one whit more regardless of Justice and Huit may be assumed that generally, from 3815 manity, than the implication contained in the to 1846, the policy of Protection was in opera- last two questions of the Tribune? tion to a greater or less extent. In 1842, began the Bridish policy of Reduction; but as some assurance that, whilst we have spoken plainly time was necessary before the new policy could of his barbarous dogma of Protection, we have produce its effects upon other countries, let us | done him and ourselves injustice, if any expres take the period from 1815 to 1846, and that sion has escaped us, inconsistent with a full from 1846 to 1854, for the purpose of compari- recognition of his sincerity and earnestness.

In the former period, our tonnage slowly rose from 1,368,127 in 1815 to 2,563,084, in 1846or 1,194,957, an annual average increasonly 38,447. In the second period, eight y ars. from 1847 to 1854 inclusive, it rose from 2,563,084 to 4,802,902-2,239,818-showing an average annual increase of 279.977!

Behold the ruin inflicted by British Free Trade, and the opening of the English market to our farmers!

In 1816, our exports of domestic and foreign products amounted to \$81,920,452. From that time we struggled on, often falling far below that amount, rarely exceeding it, intil of domestic and foreign produce. The lext year the duties began to be reduced, and the reduction went on till 1842; and our exports went up to one hundred and four millions one hundred and twenty-eight millions, one hundred and sixty-two millions, closing, in \$842, at nearly one hundred and five millions. The average was about one hundred and t enty

Under the tariff of 1842, our commerci nearly s ationary; but from the year 184r, under the influence of the repeal of the Corn Laws at 1 of the tariff of 1846, our exports, went up from one hundred and thirteen and half millions in that year to two hundred and thirty-one willions in 1853; and to two hu dred and seventy-eight millions in 1854, of thich two hundred and fifty-three and a half mi lions were of domestic production!

Of course, the Tribune will talk of the pre ponderance of imports, the drain of the precious metals, &c. At this late day, we do not think it worth while to discuss the old, threadbare topic-the balance of trade-or the al eged impoverishment of a country by its paying rold and silver for a portion of its imports. Gold, which for some years has constituted a considerable portion of our exports, is one of the products of American industry, and it would be strange if it were not an article of rade. When we have an excess of i, we export it, just as we export our surplus of ; rain. when we can find a market for it.

In conclusion, the Tribune desires us to fa vor it with answers to the following questions 1. "Is not the price of food regulated (very where by that in the market of England?
2. "Is it not, therefore, for the interest of th farmer everywhere, that the price in that mar-ket should be high?

3. " Does not every increase in the quantity sent to that market tend to lower its price, and every decrease tend to raise it?

4. "Is it not, then, for the interest of ou farmers that all nations should adopt measures ooking to the decrease of the quantity sent to

5. " Does not the protection afforded by Russia and Germany tend to create a domestic market for food-to lower the quantity exported, and to raise its price? 6. "Would not the creation of a domestic

market in Turkey tend greatly to produce the same effect, and on an enormous scale; and are not our farmers, therefore, directly interested in the incorporation of that country into Russia? 7. "Would not the success of the Allies tend

o lessen the domestic markets of Russia-to increase the quantity of food seeking a foreign market, and to lower its price; and have not our farmers, therefore, a direct interest in deprecating any such success?"

We auswer:

1. The price of food everywhere is regulated mainly by the supply and demand, with variations produced by fluctuations in the currency. An abundant harvest in England, with large supplies from the Baltic, will diminish the price there, while short crops with us at the same time, will increase prices here. On the other hand, if our harvest be large, a short crop in England, by raising the prices there, may stimulate our exports, and yet prices here remain moderate.

2. It is the interest of the farmer everywhere, that the price of food, in every market, should be stable, not so high as to reduce consumption, and degress industry, not so low as to deprive him of remuneration. 3. Excess of supply over demand, in every

market, tends to lower, as excess of demand over supply, tends to raise, the price. 4. No: it is for the interest of our farmers,

and of all farmers, that the demand for food should be constantly increasing, and that supply should keep pace with the demand, so that Labor may be sustained, and develop itself under all forms of Industry. We know of no reason why England should be isolated and ing been seized in the Baltic by a British com- but so will Col. Manypenny, and other advo-

stitutions-Free Schools and a Free Religion- subject. The American Minister, flattered by So far as we can form an opinion from a throughout both, would do infinitely more to build it up, than all the empirical legislation in himself by championship of neutral rights, has relation to Indian lands has been highly call the world.

4.62 | 6. No: for the plain reason that grain is not the decrease of what is already unimportant, could not produce any effects on "an enormous are-a better Religion, Education, the abolition of the export duty, reform in its internal administration, and the extinction of those ruinous 9.00 of all its producers. Our farmers, therefore, In four years-1850 to 1853-the Tribune are not directly or indirectly interested in the incorporation of Turkey "into Russia."

7. The success of the Allies will tend make Russia mind her own business, and sufscarcely averaged \$4.25! The season of the Christian, common-sense policy of developing enough to be flattered by her amiable demon ing men, first, then, grain-growers, have a very deep interest.

In conclusion, we must protest against the cold-blooded materialism of the argument of

Look at its position as defined by the las that the reduction is not so much as might two questions of its series. It would have the have been fairly anticipated from the natural, farmers of this country deprecate the success healthful increase in the production of the of the Allies, because it might lower the price of grain, and hail the triumph of Russia, be-We have neither time nor space to point out cause it would raise the price of grain? Need and expose all the untenable assumptions of we a more painful illustration of the anti-Christhe system of Slavery, constitute a large mar-. To all that the Tribune has to say of Pro- ket for the manufactures, breadstuffs, and protection and its results, of a free market for ductions of the North, while cotton is furnished wheat and its results, of the tyrant manufac- to the New England factories at cheap prices. turers of England and the vassal producers of Now, suppose, after the pattern of the Tribune

- Would not the abolition of Slavery tend t raise the price of cotton, to enable the South

Would the implication in such a question h

We take leave of our cotemporary, with the

### PORRIGN APPAIRS

The achievements of the Allies before Sebas topol and in the Sea of Azoff, are disparaged by the Russian Press in this country, but the supporters of the Cause of Western Civilization are perfectly satisfied with their gains. Russia feels that she has sustained a serious blow. In fact, against the continual defeats and disasters she has suffered, she can set off not a single signal success.

The Conference at Vienna has at last been finally closed; and Austria announced her policy to be "expectant." She will endeavor to to aggrandize herself without incurring much risk, and continue to play a double game. At present, the indications are that England and France will be left to bear the burden of the contest. It is said, we know not on what authority, that the French Emperor was willing to accede to the last overture of Russia, but England would not consent. We do not believe it. There is no evidence that the Governments of England and France have been at variance during the course of the negotiation. We can see no indication that the war i

coming unpopular in either country. The People know that Russia is the aggressor, that she has outraged and insulted Europe, and has not yet intimated a willingness to forego her ambitious projects. In the British House of Commons, on the 4th and 5th, in a great debate on the war, the most determined purpose was evinced to sustain the Government until Russia should be compelled to make peace on terms safe and honorable for the Allies. The Tribune, with its customary Russian proclivities, says that a scheme for partitioning Turkey has been "suggested in the House of Commons by members intimately connected with Lord Palmerston." We should like to see the authority for such a statement. Will the Tribune lay the evidence before its readers? Something was said about the fall of Turkey, in the House, in the course of the debate on the 5th inst., but the speaker was Sir James Graham. determined opponent of the policy of the Government in regard to the War, and an ad-

vocate of immediate Peace! "With regard to the future, he regarded as the great test of the rising statesmanship of England to make provision for the fall of Turkish Empire, and to take care that Constantinople did not fall into the hands of Russia on the one hand, or any great Western Power on the other."

Lord John Russell, who followed him in debate, "defended the limitation imposed on the Danubian Principalities by the arrangement on the first proposition, as the best that could have been adopted under the very delicete circumstances of the case. The Principalities could not be independent. If they were to have self-government under the protection of the Porte, it was necessary to stipulate that they should not intrigue against the tranquillity of their neighbors."

The arrangement alluded to was, placing the rights conceded by the Sultan to the Principalities, dependencies of his empire, under the guaranty of the five Powers, instead of the sole guaranty of Russia. This course would not at all affect the relations of the Principalities to Turkey. Lord John Russell proceeded: "The question then came to be, for what

object was the war to be continued? His answer was, in general, that it still continued be the maintenance of the independence of Turkey, and, consequently, the security of Eu-

the great aims of the Western Powers, con-

stantly insisted upon, was, the incorporation of Turkey into the European system, so that her rights, independence, and integrity of territory, might be fully recognised and secured. There is not a scrap of evidence that either of them has abandoned, or proposes to abandon, this policy; and when the Tribune speaks of "the broaching of this project " (of dismemberment on the part of the British Government." it speaks of what has never taken place. That its own position is directly the opposite of that. it occupied eighteen months ago, we have proved, and by its silence it admits the fact : but all its efforts to show that the character of the war, or the objects for which it is waged, have been changed, are utterly futile. Meantime, Russian diplomacy is at work, to

embarrass the Allies, by arousing the hostility of Neutrals against them. Some vessels havmander, and confiscated, which are alleged to cates of fair and honest dealings with the In-5. Official statistics show no tendency in have been engaged in lawful commerce, the dians, either country to a diminution in the quantity cunning NESSELRODE has made it the occasion fiers. of food exported, and no such tendency to high of a circular to the Neutral Powers; and, aware In this matter, we cannot yet impute to the when co-operation is talked of, it has no refer-

such attention, and not unwilling to signalize lished documents, the Governor's conducsent a strong communication, it is said, to the | ble, and we see not how the President President, and it is expected that the Admin- have winked at it without subjecting himself. a staple production of Turkey, and, of course, istration will not be wanting in a display of to censure. But, he has no right to comproper spirit. This is all very cunning in the at an offence in one case, which he punis Russian Minister: but how much more he in another. The army officers arraigned scale." The remediate measures for Turkey could have accomplished if American vessels the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are as had been interfered with! The Administration pable as the Governor; the whole correspond will, of course, look into the matter, and by ence proves this; let punishment be vis timely representation, put the belligerents on upon them all. And, in appointing a suc-Government monopolies which grind the faces their guard as to our commerce. But it does or to Governor Reeder, the Public will exp seem a little remarkable that our Representatives should need the vigilance of Count Nesselrode, to induce them to look to the protection of our Commercial Rights! The truth is, Russia is vain enough to sup-

pose that she can, by her expert diplomacy. convert this Republic into a kind of satellite and there are some of our countrymen silly stration.

#### THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES OF KANSAS TERRITORY.

Our readers may recollect something of a correspondence concerning Indian rights and wrongs in Kansas, printed last winter, exposing gross frauds to which the Indians had been subjected, shameless movements on the part of Missouri marauders to monopolize all the best claims, criminal participation in them by officers of the United States army, and connivance of the President and Secretary of War, or at least utter neglect to interfere for the punishment of the wrong done. We prepared and published a careful synopsis of the correspondence, awarding great praise to Mr. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for his vigilance, loyalty, and courage. Among other persons charged with question

able speculations in Indian lands, were Gov. Reeder, and several other functionaries. Of course, the accused parties were incensed tated by a sense of Justice, but by a corre against the Commissioner. The army officers denounced him-Gov. Reeder was indignanthow Col. Davis felt, we had no means then of ascertaining, for it seems that a very important part of the actual correspondence was not reported to Congress, of course, not printed. This was a letter from that gentleman, to the President, dated December 16th, 1854, against Col. Manypenny, calling upon the President to deal with him, in "a proper" manner. As the Commissioner was not removed, it is not unlikely that the letter was withheld, because Col. Davis subsequently obtained some new light, or, out of regard to his feelings, it was thought best that he should not appear before the Public, as an unsuccessful complainant. The Letter is copied by the New York Evening Post from the Leavenworth Herald, of March 21st, but how the editor obtained possession of a copy doth not appear:

[From the Leavenworth Herald, March 2.]

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, December 16, 1854. SIR: I have the honor herewith to transmit copy of a letter this day received from the Commanding General of the army, calling attention to a statement in the published report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in relation to the murder of Lieutenant Grattan and his command, which statement is considered an act of injustice to the army, and a misrepresentation and it will not be controlled by Know Nothin of the important facts in the case. All the reconfirms the view taken by the Commanding General of the transaction; and it is charitable to suppose that the assailment of the Commissioner was the result of the ignorance incident to his want of any personal observation of the

matter of which he so recklessly writes. In submitting this subject to your considera tion, I also invite your attention to the fact, that the same report of the Commissioner contains a renewal of the accusations heretofore made by him against officers stationed at Fort Leavenworth, which was the subject of inquiry, and the result some time since laid before you. The replies of the officers, then communicated, disprove every material averment of the Commis sioner in relation to them, and it was to have been hoped that moral considerations would have prevented him publishing his gratuitous accusations, even if he could not recognise the impropriety of invading the limits of a distinct Department of your Administration, and of assuming to judge of matters which you had thought proper to consign to the care of an-

other.

This indelicacy was not confined simply to a narrative of events, but extended to a radical change in the military system of the country; proposing to control the Indians by the organication of a new kind of force, which, with more assurance than would become a veteran Gener al, he pronounces better adapted to the service.

I have deemed it due to the army, and to the Department of which I have charge, to invite your special attention to the injustice and dis courtesy, and to ask of your hand what may seem to you proper in the case.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS, Secretary of War.

To the President.

Col. Manypenny is still Commissioner, and this fact shows that the President took a different view of his conduct from that taken by his Secretary. We have yet to learn, however, that any measures have been adopted by the President to show his disapprobation of the conduct of the accused officers; probably he was unwilling to come to an open issue with the Secretary of War. But, towards Governor Reeder and the other Territorial officials, he has not shown quite so much forbearance, as appears by the following letter:

W. L. Marcy to Governor Reeder. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, June 11, 1855.

SIR: I am directed by the President to in form you that with the developments before him in reference to purchases of Kansas halfbreed reservations made by you in the Territory of Kansas, and in which, as you state, Judges Johnston and Ellmore, of the Supreme Court of the Territory, and Mr. Isaacs, the District Attorney, participated, and in reference also to other speculations by you in lands of the Territory, apparently in violation of acts of Congress and of regulations of the Department, he feels embarrassed to see how, consistently with his convictions of duty, he can allow the present official relation to the Territory of yourself or of either of the other gentlemen named to continue, unless the impressions which now rest upon his mind shall be removed by satisfactory

The President will, however, be glad to receive and consider any explanations which you may desire to make in regard to the character and extent of the transactions above referred to, and particularly the matters spoken of in the letter of G. W. Clarke, Indian agent, dated May 8, 1855, and addressed to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Kansas, a copy of which was forwarded to you at Easton, on the 5th instant. I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient

servant. Hon. A. H. Reeder, care of John Cochran, Surveyor, &c., City of New York.

A similar letter, June 14th, was addressed by Attorney General Cushing, to Judges Johnston and Ellmore, and Col. Isaacs, Attorney of the Territory. Governor Reeder promises a reply on his arrival in Kansas. It is not likely that any of the gentlemen named will be able to render explanations satisfactory to the Pres- upon forgetting and sinking differences of ident, so that we presume they will all be dis-

missed from office. Mr. Atchison and his associates will doubtless exult over the decapitation of Gov. Reeder.

prices in the English market; and as for a domestic market, the establishment of Free In
Paris, he has addressed him specially upon the land his friends, or to further their conspiracy. it? May it not prove simply an aggregation

at least to see no change for the worse gard to Slavery. We are not an admired the present incumbent. Aside from his speculations, he has, we think, fallen short his duty to the actual settlers of Kansus. ought never to have recognised the validity the election in that Territory. It was a pain ble, stupendous fraud; he knew it, for such proclaimed it; he had the power to set it as and ought to have done it.

Again: when he saw Kansas invaded. had authority to apply to the President help. Why did he not do so? And why, aft having ordered a special election, did he lear Kansas to its fate, and return to Pennsylvan instead of remaining on the spot, and taking measures in advance to guard the independent of the ballot-box?

For all these reasons, we are not prepared join with some papers in regarding Govern Reeder as a kind of martyr in the Cause Freedom. That he sincerely desired Kans to be free, that he took certain precautions secure a free expression of opinion by the actual settlers, we cheerfully admit, but crisis required a much bolder and more demined man.

Now, should the President appoint in place one more acceptable to the Slaves Propagandists, the Public will justly infer the the removal of Governor Reeder was not desire to please the South and Messrs, Atel son and Stringfellow.

#### LET US UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER A word to our friend G., of the Asida

Sentinel. He has either misunderstood us we have misunderstood him. If he is in fa of a reorganization of the Political Anti-Movement, on the same general principles, w the same general object, and operating same general methods as characterized it in 18 and 1848, then we are with him. But if h for a nondescript, indefinite, half-way sort movement, that, while professing great indepence of the Know Nothing Order, shall in be controlled by it, then we are against him We have no re-organization to ask. We a

already organized. Our Republican party last year, organized on the proper basis. T President and his party had declared for so taining and extending Slavery by the Fed Government. The Republican party took de nite and distinct issues on that proposition leaving Slavery to the States, they intend wield the final power for Freedom only. The is the issue between the Administration a the Republicans. We therefore go for susta ing the Republican party as formed, or the issi which was then adopted, and opposing all effor to modify that issue or to adopt others on which we may disagree. Ours is neither a "non script, indefinite, nor half-way movement character is well defined, easily understo

Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel. Let us understand each other. If G. re our article, he must have seen our subject w National, not State action. We insisted on reorganization of the Political Anti-Slaven Movement, for the Presidential campaign. H answers, by saying that they have, in Ohio. Republican Party, which needs no reorganization! We speak of one thing-he answers: by talking of another. Now, so far as the States are concerned,

wish our friends all success in honest and wise efforts to secure a Party of Freedom, whether they call it Republican, or Independent Demcratic, an existing organization, or a re-organ ization. That, however, is not the question There is no National Organization, of any kind which proposes the establishment of Freedom as the law of the Federal Government. Ther is a National Old Line Democratic Party; as we have now a National Know Nothing Party If the Anti-Slavery voters intend to act wit neither of these, what do they intend to do Why talk of "Fusion?" Do they expect fuse with the Old Line Democrats or Nation Know Nothings? All voters in the Fr States, outside of these organizations, are prety well fused already. The thing they need organization. Now, has G. any other plan propose, than "a Political Anti-Slavery Mov ment, on the same general principles, with the same general object, and operating by the same general methods as characterized it is 1852 and 1848?" If he has, let him propo it-if he has not, let him say whether he with us or not. If the old, experienced Aut Slavery men do not take the lead, who will And is it not high time, when Slavery a Hunkerism are concentrating their forces an organizing for the campaign of 1856, that we should be at least comparing opinions, an working for united action? Have our friends

assign to them the lead? For one, let us say distinctly and emphatically, we will never support any organization let it be as loud as it may in its Anti-Slavery professions, which embraces or countenance Secresy in method, or Discrimination in natural or political rights, on account of color birth, or religion. If voters, who have been styled Whigs, Democrats, or Know Nothings will unite in open, independent, direct action, in favor of Freedom, and against Slavery without the attempt to make such union mir ister to other organizations with which they may be associated, we can act with them; but let not the Know Nothings of the free States delude themselves with the notion that they can rally the masses of the North and West under their banner. They cannot do it: we trust, the majority of them are convinced this; and we hope that they will consent to give up at once their organization, and join heartily and honestly in a real Party of Freedom.

concluded to await the decision of the Know

Nothing Councils in the Free States, so as t

So much as to National action. Now, as t State action. If a citizen of Ohio, our motto would be, co-operation with individuals, in a Party of Freedom, Now and Always; but, co operation with Know Nothings, as a Party.

We are not sorry to see that the Independent Democrats have called a Mass State Conven tion, to meet at Columbus, on the 13th, the day of the meeting of the delegate Republi can Convention. If the action of the latter be open, honest,

and single-eyed, they will ratify it; if otherwise, they will be on hand to mark out their own line of policy. It is all well enough to insist erty Man permit himself to be driven into any arrangement implying a sanction to Know Nothingism. "Co-operation," as it is called, may prove a snare. As a matter of fact, we suppose there are but two actual State racy, and the Know Nothing Party. Of course,